

Decausatives in Polish: A non-reflexive analysis

Abstract:

One of the key operations in valency rearrangement is the formation of mono-argumental predicates from phonologically corresponding/identical bi-argumental predicates. It has been most recently revisited by Junghanns, Fermann and Lenertová (2011), who analyze decausatives in Slavic languages as cases of reflexivization of verbs with non-agentive causers, in the spirit of Koontz-Garboden (2009). We review these formation in Polish and find out that an analysis which is set against a more extensive data gives no grounds for a reflexive analysis. We find the data in favor of decausatives showing the presence of the external argument through the appearance of the subject 'by itself' anaphor misjudged as to their grammaticality. This claim is supported with examples from the National Corpus of the Polish Language contending against Jabłońska's (2007) analysis. The overall picture of the morphological system and language behavior speak against setting apart decausatives with reflexive marking from other unaccusatives in Polish. We disregard the reflexive analysis and adopt the anticausative solution, where the formation of decausatives is not seen as identification of arguments. We see it as a subtraction of VoiceP. This solution assumes one of the structures for decausatives from Alexiadou (2010). The operation is seen as lexical, not syntactic, and in defiance of Koontz-Garboden's Monotonicity Hypothesis.

Key words:

morpho-syntax, Polish, reflexives, decausatives, unaccusatives, corpus studies

Streszczenie

Czasowniki nieakuzatywne w języku polskim

Jedną z najważniejszych operacji zmian walencyjnych jest tworzenie czasowników jedno-argumentowych od fonologicznie podobnych/identycznych czasowników dwu-argumentowych. Te zagadnienia były ostatnio przedmiotem rozważań Junghannsa, Fermanna i Lenertowej (2011), w ramach ich badań nad czasownikami pochodzącymi od kauzatywnych w językach słowiańskich. Analizują owe czasowniki jako zwrotne z nieagentywnymi argumentami zewnętrznymi, w duchu Koontz-Garbodena (2009).

Artykuł poświęcony jest takim formacjom w języku polskim, widzianym w szerszym morfologicznym kontekście językowym. W tym świetle nie dają one powodów do traktowania ich jako czasowników zwrotnych. W artykule wykazano, że dane, które mają popierać refleksywny status tych czasowników (Jabłońska 2007), a związane z występowaniem, bądź niewystępowaniem z nimi anafory 'sam/sama/samo (z siebie)', zostały nieprawidłowo przedstawione, co wykazuje zawartość Narodowego Korpusu Języka Polskiego. Także całościowo rozważany system morfologiczny języka polskiego przemawia przeciw traktowaniu czasowników dekauzatywnych jako zwrotnych, w ode-

rwanu od innych czasowników jednoargumentowych z argumentem wewnętrznym. Zamiast tego przedstawiamy te czasowniki jako rezultat pominięcia w strukturze wyjściowej VoiceP. Ta struktura zaczerpnięta została z Alexiadou (2010), chociaż oryginalnie posiada inną funkcję. Operacja tworzenia dekauzatywów widziana jest przez nas jako leksykalna operacja, która nie współgra z Monotonicity Hypothesis proponowaną przez Koontz-Garbodena.

Słowa kluczowe:

morfo-syntaksa, język polski, czasowniki zwrotne, dekauzatywa, czasowniki nieakuzatywne, badania korpusowe

1. Introduction

Valency rearrangements constitute possibly the most fascinating problem in the grey area of uncertainty between morphology and syntax. One of the key operations in valency rearrangement is the formation of mono-argumental predicates from phonologically corresponding/identical bi-argumental predicates. A phenomenon of this kind has been recently revisited and reanalyzed by Junghanns Uwe, Dorothee Fermann, Denisa Lenertová (2011).¹ They have taken up what they call decausatives, which in other approaches are frequently referred to as middles or anticausatives or ergatives. Generally speaking, these verbs are participants in paired oppositions, where one member is a bi-argumental verb and signifies broadly understood causation of some change of state specified by a monoargumental verb – the other member of the opposition. The bi-argumental and mono-argumental verbs are morphologically related, though not necessarily identical. The relationship between such expressions is mostly seen as grammatical, derivational in nature, though some sources present it as seriously pragmatically or contextually biased.² The relation may also be conceived of as non-derivational in the sense that none of the verbs is seen as primary: the lexicon lists the common root, which, given a variety of structures in which it can be situated, alternates in different ways.³

The analyses of this body of data vary immensely, even if we consider only the grammatical derivation over the pragmatic viewpoint. The verbal forms may be seen as formed in the lexicon⁴ or syntax⁵ or both (the choice may be language specific too).⁶ Since in most recent generative studies no sharp distinction is drawn between morphology and syntax, the main issues cluster around the treatment of such verbs as cases of passivization⁷ – where losing an external argument from a structure can be seen as passive formation, reflexivization,⁸ i.e. identification of the two roles of the

¹ Henceforth JFL (2011).

² For such contextually and pragmatically biased approaches see e.g. Szymańska and Śpiewak (1998), Tabakowska (2003), Kaufmann (2007), etc.

³ See e.g. Alexiadou (2010).

⁴ See e.g. Kibort (2004).

⁵ See e.g. Kallullia (2007), Potsdam (2011).

⁶ Reinhart and Siloni (2005).

⁷ E.g. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995).

⁸ E.g. Chierchia (2004), Koontz-Garboden (2009).

bi-argumental verb, or as decausativization, i.e. eradication of the externally assigned thematic role, while the internal role takes up its place, or remains in situ.⁹ Alternately, some mono-argumentals are seen as reflexives and some are not.¹⁰ There are also proposals to treat anticausatives (mono-argumentals) as primary and to derive causatives from them – in order to avoid deleting thematic information from lexical entries.¹¹ Hardly any class of morphologically complex items has attracted so much attention with so little final agreement as to the results, perhaps with the exception of causative verbs in generative semantics, so it may be not a coincidence that anticausatives are such a sensitive area of research.

Consequently, to undertake an analysis of decausatives seems a risky task, still we would like to revisit these verbs in Polish.

2. *Junghanns Uwe, Dorothee Fermann, Denisa Lenertová's (2011) reflexive analysis*

Since the amount of the relevant literature is overpowering, as a point of reference we will take up the most recent account of Slavic decausatives offered by JFL (2011), one reason being that it is based on broad and recent literature, the second that it directly tallies with another very recent account by Koontz-Garboden (2009) and grafts the same spirit on various Slavic languages. Consequently, JFL's (2011) account has much more general aspirations than the one we will present here. We will claim that decausativization in Polish is different than decausativizations in Slavic discussed by JFL (2011), as it has significantly different features of verbal behavior. We will try to show that, presented against a broader outlook on the specific morphology of one language, decausativization may appear different than if taken to be one of the many narrow subsystems within general Slavic studies. Our analysis does not undermine the findings of JFL (2011), but it might show that Polish is on a different level of development than other Slavic languages.¹²

The analysis such as JFL's (2011), treating decausatives as reflexive in Polish, would be very appealing if they could show that: **1.** Some phenomena support the external

⁹ See Horvath and Siloni (2011), cf. also Szymańska (1998), who argues strongly against such a treatment of reflexiva tantum in Polish in particular, but she also expresses disbelief in decausative derivation altogether.

¹⁰ This kind of approach has been taken up by Jones and Levine (2010), who distinguish in Russian two subclasses of the said predicates: ergatives and middles. In their analysis ergatives, which can appear as intransitives without any additional context, are formed by the reflexive process, while middles, which require additional adverbial expressions, have the internal argument position filled by an adverb (speaking very crudely), while the internal argument can occupy the external argument position. Consequently, both subclasses have different properties and just happen to reveal semantic-syntactic similarity. Most sources that we will be quoting do not draw such a distinction between ergatives and middles. Hence we will use for all of them indiscriminately one term: decausatives.

¹¹ See e.g. Pylkkänen (2008).

¹² This is for instance suggested by Siewierska (1988), where reflexive passive – a structure similar to decausatives – is viewed to be obsolete in Polish, unlike in other Slavic languages.

role status¹³ of the only role that gets preserved in decausatives. **2.** The verbs with reflexive morphological marking exclusively show unaccusative semantics – i.e. going into, or attaining a state. **3.** As Theme undergoing a change is to result from the reflexive derivation (role identification), it has to be shown that in Polish no obligatorily agentive verbs can derive decausatives. We shall show that none of the above obtain for Polish. We will begin our discussion with point **1.** – as it will allow us to introduce the decausative data itself, then move to point **2.**, which requires a more extensive presentation of the Polish verbal system. Point **3.**, equally important, but concerning a very limited body of data, will be discussed at the end. The paper will terminate with an outline of our alternative (non-reflexive) analysis.

At the outset we will present the rudiments of JFL's (2011) research, as it is a very recent proposal. They begin by drawing a distinction between decausatives and reflexive passives, while claiming that decausatives are formed through the reflexivization process whenever the external argument of the verb can carry typical nonagentive roles. Passives appear when the role is agentive and can be represented as the instrumental phrase (JFL 2011):

- 1) *Dver' zakrylas'/zakryvalas' ot poryva vetra* – decausative in Russian 'The door closed due to wind'
- 2) *Dver' zakryvalas' slugoj* – reflexive passive in Russian 'The door was closed by a servant'

JFL (2011) make a note that in Polish reflexive passives do not exist nowadays. They discuss availability of 'by phrases' (realized as instrumentals in Slavic languages) and find them available only in some languages.

More importantly for the decausative body of data, they claim that the subject anaphor binding functions with decausatives, even if 'by phrases' are not available with them. They take it as evidence for the presence of external arguments in reflexive decausative constructions, since such arguments bind the said anaphors. Given that external roles are present with decausatives and yet decausative constructions have the semantics where the only visible argument takes up the role of the undergoer of the action, JFL (2011) reason that this discrepancy can be resolved if decausatives are reflexives, with external and internal arguments identified with each other. The additional condition states that the external argument is not agentive (with agents we get reflexive passives¹⁴ or true reflexives). Their solution very ingeniously explains away curious fact about decausatives: they have subjects (external roles?) with all semantic properties of internal arguments (Themes). JFL (2011) do not want to accept the possibility that it is the internal role that becomes externalized as such a solution would fail to explain why the unassigned external role cannot appear in a 'by phrase', nor why certain verbs with external agents cannot undergo the derivation. In their

¹³ Or at least its ambivalent nature with diagnostics pointing out its external and internal characteristics.

¹⁴ *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego*, henceforth *NKJP* (Przepiórkowski, Bańko, Górski and Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk eds. 2012).

system the latter phenomenon is explained in such a way that for reflexivization to take place the identified roles have to match up to a point and the roles of agents and undergoers are not compatible. To sum up, the solution depends on the viability of two claims: subject anaphors can appear with decausatives, but not with other unaccusatives as those do not have to be derived by reflexivization operation and may function differently, and agentive verbs derive no decausatives. Below we will show that for Polish none of these claims can be defended.

3. *Decausatives do not preserve any form of an external argument*

In this section we will argue against claims that the sole argument preserved with decausatives is external. The material we will cover includes structures with ‘by itself’ anaphor, structures with the Genitive case, scrambling, scope of negation and arguments coming from Information Structure.

3.1. ‘by itself’ anaphor with decausatives

First we will take up the matter of subject anaphors with decausatives. In Polish their presence cannot be quoted in favor of treating the argument accompanying decausatives as external, though identified with the internal one through reflexivization: the same subject anaphors appear with unaccusatives with no reflexive morphology, or indeed with other intransitives and transitives. In other words, it seems that the presence of the subject anaphor in Polish signals no distinctions of the interesting kind among verbs: the very same anaphoric phrases resume arguments of alternating, but non-reflexive decausatives in Polish and also of underived unaccusatives.

JFL (2011), after Jabłońska (2007: 154), claim that the data concerning the anaphor distribution with decausatives and unaccusatives without reflexive marking contrast in Polish. We argue that the analysis is based on misrepresented Polish data; namely we believe that Jabłońska’s judgements are faulty, and we support our linguistic intuition with utterances taken from the *National Corpus of the Polish Language*, so that the data are not biased towards our pre-conceptions and can be independently verified. At the same time, we have to admit that the relevant material is scanty since the ‘by itself’ anaphor – *sam, sama, samo, sami, same*¹⁵ – is used for a reason and such a need with the verbs that primarily stress the result of the causation does not arise frequently. First, however, let us quote Jabłońska’s data.

Jabłońska (2007: 154) maintains that in Polish the intransitive forms with the reflexive clitic *się*¹⁶ admit the anaphor, while the forms without *się*, i.e. true unaccusatives,

¹⁵ The forms represent gender and number forms of the ‘by itself’ anaphor: masc.sg., fem.sg, neu.sg, masc.pl, non-masc.pl. respectively.

¹⁶ *Się* is phonologically and syntactically a clitic element in Polish. It has many syntactic and morphological functions, still not researched enough. For instance, it appears in middle structures: *Ten samochód dobrze się prowadzi* ‘This car drives easily’, inchoatives: *Trawa zieleni się* ‘The grass grows green’, antipassives: *Oni się pakują* ‘They are packing up’, reflexives: *On się myje* ‘He washes himself’, impersonal constructions: *Teatr w Lublinie ciągle się buduje* ‘(They) have the theater still being built

do not. Were it a fact, it would speak very strongly in favor of treating decausatives as reflexives with the external role present, as the anaphors (Chierchia 1989/2004: 42) must be bound by an external agent or causer and the anaphor's antecedent '...must be construed as the sole cause of the event under consideration':

- 3) *Marta sama się utopiła*
Marta.NOM.f. alone.f refl drown.PST.3sg.f
'Marta drowned by herself (without any external cause)'
- 4) **Marta sama utonęła*
Marta.NOM.f. alone.f drown.PST.3sg.f
'*Marta drowned by herself'
- 5) *Trawa sama się zazieleniła*
Grass.NOM.f alone.f refl Get.green.PST.3sg.f
'The grass got green by itself'
- 6) ??? *Trawa sama zzieleniała*
grass.NOM.f alone.f get.green green.PST.3sg.f
intended: 'The grass got green by itself.' (Jabłońska 2007:154)

JFL (2011) give analogical examples, though with such predicates which do not present additional problems, as is the case with e.g. *zzieleniała* above: we would like to stress the fact that (6) sounds much better (we believe – perfect), if a different prefix is added: *Trawa sama pozieleniała*. This may suggest, and Jabłońska perceives the difference in 'goodness' between (4) and (6), that there are prefixation phenomena involved, additionally interfering with the grammaticality judgements. Perhaps not all prefixes 'tolerate' unaccusative structures equally well.¹⁷

If we refer to the corpora available for the Polish language, we find unaccusatives with the anaphors (7–13 below), just like we find reflexive decausatives with them (14–18). For the purposes of this text we have used *NKJ*:

- 7) ... *ponieważ choroba z czasem sama wygaśnie*^{18, 19}
... as the illness will with time recede by itself' (NKJP)

in Lublin', reflexiva tantum: *Ja się cieszę* 'I am glad', and possibly others. *Się* does not have separate word stress and it appears with a verb, but we think that it is not an affixal element as it may precede or follow the verb, or be separated from it, e.g.: *On się myje* 'He is washing himself' vs. *On się od dwu godzin myje* 'He has been washing himself for two hours' vs. *On się szybko myje* 'He is washing himself quickly'. For details see e.g. Szober (1957), Wróbel (1984), Kardela (1985), Bułat (2004), Szymanek (2010), etc.

¹⁷ For an interesting discussion of such phenomena see e.g. Szymańska (1998).

¹⁸ There is no question of the anaphoric word *sama* here meaning 'alone', the case that Chierchia (1989) considers to be indiscriminating with respect to the predicate it accompanies; *sama* in the above example, and in other examples we quote, means 'by itself'.

¹⁹ We may test the verbs in (7–13) for their unaccusative character using Cetnarowska's (2000:83) criterion for the formation of *-ły*: adjectives: *wygasły* 'extinguished', *dojrzały* 'ripe', *popadły w szaleństwo* 'mad', *zdziwaczały* 'weird', *dorośli* 'grown-up', (and a semantically divergent passive adjective) *zaginiony* 'lost'. Extensive studies of the possible testing procedures and their usefulness for unaccusatives in Polish are to be found in Cetnarowska (2000) and Cetnarowska (2002). However, as we are dealing with lexical forms here, many gaps appear. For instance we would expect to have:

- 8) *Człowiek włącza się bowiem w historię przez swoje działania, w których i przez które wpływa na kształt otaczającego go świata i w których sam dojrzewa do pełni swojego wieku.* ‘Man joins history through his action, in which and through which he influences the surrounding World, and in which he, by himself, matures to the fruition of his age.’ (NKJP)
- 9) *Wydaje mi się, że sama popadam w szaleństwo*²⁰ ‘I believe that I, by myself, am going crazy’ (NKJP)
- 10) *...odeszła żona, a on sam zdziwaczał* ‘...the wife has left and he grew weird by himself’ (NKJP)
- 11) *W dzieciństwie uratował mu życie, sam przy tym ginąc* ‘In childhood he saved his life, himself dying’ (NKJP) *Chce abym ja sam zginął!* ‘He wants me to get killed’ (NKJP)
- 12) *Jak potem wybielisz ten tynk, powiesz obrazek w starej ramce, to sam oszalejesz z zachwytu* ‘When you whiten the plaster, put up the picture in an old frame, then you will go crazy by yourself’ (NKJP)
- 13) *Pamiętał dobrze, jak powstawały domy handlowe Zenit i Skarbek, może dlatego, że sam wtedy dorastał* ‘He remembered well how the supermarkets Zenith and Skarbek came into being, perhaps because he was growing up by himself’ (NKJP), etc.

The same pattern is available with *się* decausatives:

- 14) *Sama grzała się ciepłem jego wspomnień* ‘She, by herself, grew warm with the warmth of his memories’ (NKJP)
- 15) *... ale i sam bez wahania jej się poświęcił* ‘but so he, by himself, devoted himself to her’ (NKJP)
- 16) *Sam zaś zadowolił się urzędem ministra* ‘He was satisfied by himself with the minister’s post’ (NKJP)

**utonięły* ‘drowned’, but no form of any similar sort appears. Consequently, we cannot rely on the results to exclude verbs as unaccusatives. The presence of adjectives in *-ły*, on the other hand, for those verbs which have them suggests their unaccusative character as is the case with (7) above – we have the adjective *wygasły* ‘extinguished’.

Another unaccusativity test has been made available by Romanova (2004: 273) (earlier in Pesetsky 1982), who proposes it for Russian, but it can easily be adopted for Polish data (see Cetnarowska 2002). Romanova (2004: 273) gives the following pair of examples, where in *a*. we deal with an unaccusative, while in *b*. – we do not. The key element is the prefix *na-*:

(36) a. *Sobak na-bieża-l-o!* ‘What a lot of dogs have run here’

b. **Sobak na-biega-l-o!*

She uses the fact that prefix *na-* requires the presence of the underlying object – or measures over an object, as she puts it, on the surface realized as the genitive argument. Consequently, the verb must be unaccusative, if it is intransitive, to offer such an object. Most of our verbs pass this test as well: *Nakorodowało samochodów po zimie!* ‘Many a car has corroded after this winter’, *Natrzaśkało drzew w lesie pod ciężarem śniegu!* ‘Many a tree has given in under the heavy snowfall’, *Nadochodziło listów przed świętami* ‘Many a letter has arrived before Christmas’, etc.

²⁰ *Popadać w szaleństwo* ‘to go mad’, like many other predicative expressions, is an idiom with unaccusative semantics. We treat them on a par with single word unaccusatives, as we see no reason to do otherwise.

- 17) *A zresztą sam się przekonasz* ‘And then you will get convinced by yourself’(NKJP)
- 18) *Po chwili sam się poprawił* ‘After a while he corrected himself’(NKJP)

To sum up, the anaphor, which was to tell us that much about the nature of de-causatives, freely appears with non-reflexive unaccusatives, decausatives, and also with other types of intransitive verbs, as the examples below summarise:

- 19) *Drzwi zamykają się same* (decausative) ‘The door closes by/of itself’ vs. *Uczeń zamyka drzwi* ‘A pupil closes the door’ vs. *Wiatr zamyka drzwi* ‘The wind closes the door’
- 20) *Rany zarastają same* (non-reflexive unaccusative, non agentive causer possible) ‘Wounds close by themselves’ **Lekarz zarasta rany* ‘A doctor closes wounds’ vs. *Tkanka zarasta rany* ‘Tissue closes wounds’
- 21) *Statki toną same* (non-reflexive unaccusative, no causer possible in the external argument position – intrinsic unaccusatives) ‘Ships sink by themselves’ vs. **Marynarze toną statki* ‘Sailors sink ships’ vs. **Fale toną statki* ‘Waves sink ships’
- 22) *To forsa sama ulata w kieszeń* (unergative) ‘The money pours into the pocket by itself’ (NKJP)

The evidence so far has shown that, contrary to earlier suggestions, decausatives in Polish do not behave so differently with respect to ‘by itself’ anaphor as to vouch for their special position in the derivational system of Polish, viz. reflexively derived unaccusative/decausative semantics.

3.2. Internal arguments with decausatives

Having shown that decausatives do not necessarily manifest the presence of an external argument with them, we would like to argue that the role that accompanies them shows characteristics of being internal, at least at some point in the derivation, and that would additionally undermine the reflexive analysis. This conjecture we would like to support with an analysis of structures with the Genitive case realized on the object, the differences in the scope of negation and scrambling. The analysis will be adopted from Russian after Romanowa (2004) and Potsdam (2011).

3.2.1. Genitive case as an indicator of objecthood

It may be observed that in sentences with negation the object of a sentence, both in Russian and in Polish, appears in the Genitive case, unlike in a positive statement, where it usually takes the Accusative case. The object in unmarked utterances realizes the internal argument of the verb:

- 23) *Piotr zbierał grzyby* ‘Peter.Nom picked up mushrooms.Acc’ vs. *Piotr nie zbierał grzybów* ‘Peter did not pick up mushrooms.Gen’

Negation does not seem to affect subjects of verbs with external theta roles (unergatives below):

- 24) *Piotr tańczył* ‘Peter.Nom danced’ vs. *Piotr nie tańczył* ‘Peter.Nom. did not dance’

In Russian unaccusatives appear with negation and the Genitive case, so there is direct evidence that their arguments are internal (Potsdam 2011: 349):

- 25) *Mogło [ne pojavit’sja ni-kak-ix mal’cik-ov v klassie]* ‘There could not have appeared any boys in class’
could.NTR not appear.INF.PNF.PFV NEG-kind-GEN.PL boy-GEN.pl in class

Similar sentences in Polish are not readily accepted, although they do not strike us as totally ungrammatical:

- 26) ?? *Mogło nie pojawić się żadnych chłopców w klasie.* ‘There could not have appeared any boys in class’

However, even if these judgements are faulty, we may treat the appearance of the Genitive case itself as a possible sign of the internal nature of the argument, at least at some point in the derivation. Structures with the Genitive case accompanying an unaccusative verb abound in Polish, the fact which we will illustrate below:²¹

- 27) *Nastąpiło*²² *ludzi w kościele* ‘Grew faint.NEUT people. GEN in church’
28) *Narodziło nam kłopotów* ‘Accumulated.NEUT to us problems.’
29) *Natonęło statków* ‘Sunk. NEUT ships. GEN’
30) *Nazamykało się drzwi* Closed.REFL.NEUT
vs.
31) **Natańczyło (się) ludzi* ‘Danced.NEUT people. GEN’ vs. *Ludzie natanęczyli się* ‘People danced a whole lot’
32) **Naczytało nam książek* ‘Read us.Dat książek.Gen’

The examples above have the impersonal form of the predicate, the unaccusatives prefixed with *na-* and arguments in the Genitive case. Notice the distinction between various unaccusatives (27–30) (decausatives among them – 30) and unergatives (31), which cannot take the Genitive case in such structures. We feel that the data show very convincingly that the role associated with unaccusatives is not the same external

²¹ For Russian see also Romanowa (2004: 273), for Polish – Cetnarowska (2002: 59).

²² The verbal form is the default third person neuter singular word form frequently employed in the formation of impersonals in Polish. We will mark it as NEUT. See e.g. Laskowski (1984, pp. 146–148) for a more thorough presentation of the position of this verbal form in the Polish system of predicative expressions.

role that we find with unergatives (or transitives for that matter, see (32)). The above examples reveal that the Genitive case is assigned to the (logical) subjects of our decausatives, but not to subjects of causative verbs, nor to unergatives. This data, like the distribution of the ‘by itself’ anaphor, argues against decausatives being a result of reflexivization with an external role assigned to the available argument.

Other arguments that Potsdam (2011) uses against covert A-movement of unaccusative arguments can also be adopted to argue against the external nature of arguments with unaccusatives (decausatives among them). The issue which Potsdam (2011: 347) considers is whether the argument in the direct object position in the surface structure moves at LF to the matrix subject position in the Spec of TP. In his paper he argues against such an analysis, as a by-product giving evidence for the internal nature of unaccusative arguments. Only some of his tests work for Polish, which turns out to be significantly different from Russian with respect to the behavior of unaccusatives. However, some arguments can be adapted for Polish.

3.2.2. *Scope of negation with decausatives*

Interesting evidence for the internal nature of arguments accompanying unaccusatives comes from the scope of negation phenomena. Subjects in Polish may interact with the scope of negation in the same clause in such a way that ambiguity may result:

- 33) *Wszyscy ludzie nie tańczą* ‘All people do not dance’

This sentence, with an unergative verbal element, so the one possessing an external role, can be interpreted in two ways: either all people do not dance, or not all people dance (Potsdam 2011: 353 for Russian) ‘all>neg, neg>all. However, if you consider sentences with our decausatives, then the negation scopes over the internal role: neg>all and no ambiguity arises.

- 34) *Cale mięso nie rozkłada się* ‘The whole meat does not rot’
 35) *Wszystkie kwiaty nie więdną* ‘All the flowers do not wilt’
 36) *Wszystkie gałęzie nie łamią się* ‘All the branches do not break’

Consequently, the role that decausatives (34 above) or other unaccusatives (35–36) possess is not of the same type as the one with unergatives: we claim it is the case of external – internal role differentiation.

3.2.3. *Scrambling phenomena*

Potsdam (2011) also analyses scrambling phenomena in Russian, which again point in the same direction – no external role with unaccusatives. He (pp. 351–352) states that long distance scrambling is possible in Russian from non-subject positions, and argues that it is also possible with unaccusatives. He stresses that it happens in colloquial Russian. The same reservation holds for Polish:

- 37) **Piotr nie chce mi się żeby przyszedł* ‘Peter I do not feel like that came.3rd.sg.past’ (unergative)
 vs.
 38) *Chuliganów nie chce mi się żeby się tu pojawiło mnóstwo* ‘Hooligans.Gen I do not feel like that appeared 3rd.pl.past’ (unaccusative)
 39) *Gałęzi nie chce mi się żeby się tu nałamało* ‘Branches.GEN I do not feel like that broke 3rd.pl.past’, etc. (unaccusative)

The fact that all unaccusatives, whether decausative or not, with the reflexive marking or without it, behave uniformly with respect to the above tests shows that decausatives with *się* are not unique, and that their reflexive derivation is doubtful.

3.3. Evidence from Information Structure

The next piece of evidence has been prompted to us by remarks about the topic/focus Information Structure as reflected by external and internal subjects in a sentence. Slioussar (2011) argues that external subjects appear after the verb if they are in narrow focus in Russian. She links this property to the EPP requirement in such a way that external subjects have to undergo the obligatory EPP-driven movement and only then can they, if in narrow focus, be transported to the post-verbal position. Internal subjects, on the other hand, can either behave in the same way or remain in their original underlying position after the verb, irrespective of the Information Structure²³. It follows that if we have a post-verbal subject in a topical (or non-narrow focus) function in a Russian sentence, it has to represent an internal argument. We have adopted this analysis to the Polish data and found out that in the post verbal position of *się* verbs we may have subjects as topics, hence they probably represent internal arguments in these sentences. This dovetails with the so-far findings from the area of morphosyntax and syntax of the Polish language, which point in the direction of the unaccusative nature of *się* verbs. Of course we find also pre-verbal subjects with *się* verbs, but the preverbal position does not allow us to test anything relevant; here both external and internal subjects can be positioned as topics, and most frequently they are so situated as (Erteschik-Shir 2007: 18) ‘one of the connections between information structure and syntax that is best known is the propensity for languages to order given, old, or topic information before new or focused information.’ The sentence initial position is a regular subject position in Russian and in Polish, so both types of subjects can appear here as topics. Only internal ones, however, will be frequent as topics post-verbally. This prediction is borne out by the language material from *NKJP*: we have found numerous cases where the post-verbal positions in sentences with *się* predicates are occupied by what seem to be topics, and not foci – wide or narrow. Below we include some such examples: the underlined parts indicate that the following subjects in bold

²³ Slioussar (2011: 2054): ‘External subjects [in Russian] almost always precede the verb; not only when they are topical, but also when they are part of a wide focus. They surface after the verb only if they are in narrow focus (or highlighted inside a wide focus), and in this case no other constituents can follow them’. She links those properties with EPP-driven phenomena, which however are of no importance for our analysis.

characters are topics, since one of the criteria that allow us to specify that something is a topic in a written text, without phonological clues, is its earlier introduction in some form into the text (see e.g. Erteschik-Shir 2007):²⁴

- 40) *Problemy **nasilały się**, gdy Mateusz zostawał sam z matką. Bożena mogła poczuć się osamotniona w wychowywaniu Mateusza. To ona zajmowała się synem, więc wszelkie porażki przypisywała sobie. Nie rozumiała, skąd **wzięły się problemy**.* ‘Problems grew when Mathew stayed alone with his mother. Bożena may have felt on her own in bringing up Mathew. It was her who took care of her son and all failures she attributed to herself. She could not understand wherefrom the **problems appeared**.’

Notice that in the above fragment the *się* verbs (highlighted) first follow and then precede the nominative NP *problemy*. This supports Slioussar’s (2011) analysis of unaccusatives in the light of the Information Structure.

- 41) *Wiadomo już ..., że bezrobocie nie można sprowadzić do zjawiska gospodarczego czy politycznego. To sfera społecznych odniesień moralnych jest tą płaszczyzną, gdzie **rodzi się klęska bezrobocia**.* ‘It is known that unemployment cannot be reduced to an industrial or political phenomenon. It is the sphere of social-moral relations that constitutes this plain where the **disaster of unemployment is born**.’
- 42) *Nie można porównywać w tej mierze „Dziadów” z „Faustem”. Goethe chciał napisać tragedię; wśród pracy **rozszerzył się temat** i zmienił na coś innego, ale w pierwszej części zostały bądź co bądź ślady pierwotnego zamiaru.* ‘In this respect you cannot compare ‘Dziady’ with ‘Faustus’. Goethe wanted to write a tragedy: During the working process the **subject broadened** and turned into something else, but in the first part there still remained traces of the original thought.
- 43) *Jakie emocje twoje lub dziecka ujawniły się w czasie rozmowy? ... Jak **zakończyła się rozmowa**, co konkretnie ustaliliście?* ‘What emotions of yours or of your child surfaced during the talk? How did the **talk terminate**, what did you establish?’
- 44) *Wojna czasami bywa nieunikniona. Zabiera więcej czasu, ale przynosi ostateczne rozwiązania. – O co pan prosi Boga w modlitwach? – O to, żeby wreszcie **skończyła się wojna**.* ‘War is sometimes not to be avoided. It takes more time, but it brings final resolutions. – What do you ask God for in your prayers? – So that **the war would finally end**.’

²⁴ According to e.g. Erteschik-Shir (2007: 18): ‘In the case of ‘old’ topics, the referent must have been mentioned in the immediate discourse, or else it can be derived from a previously mentioned topic as in the case of hyperthemes... In such cases the topic is a member of a set defined by the previously mentioned hypertheme. A topic can also be derived from a previously mentioned referent through world knowledge.’

- 45) *Pewne, wydawało się, źródło zaopatrujące afgański rząd w gotówkę, broń i wszystko, co potrzebne do funkcjonowania państwa, zaczęło nagle wysychać. Nadzibullahowi **kończyły się pieniądze** na opłacanie generałów i możnowładców.* 'The certain, it seemed, source supplying the Afgan government in ready money, arms and everything necessary for the functioning of the country began drying out. Nadzibullah's **money** to pay the generals and VIPs **began to dwindle**.'
- 46) *Wciąż dochodziło do kłótni, rozpychania się, zajmowania cudzych ziem. Powodem do ulicznej bitwy był choćby skradziony worek cukru. **Zaczęły się rozboje i egzekucje**.* 'All the time quarrels, pushing out, taking somebody else's grounds took place. A reason for street fighting could have been a mere stolen sugar sack. There **began robbery and executions**.'
- 47) *Nagle tę monotonię przerywał krzyk: Raketi! – i zaraz potem eksplozja. **Podnosiła się chmura** kurzu i dymu, pląnęły sklepiki... Wiatr rozpędzał dym, zapadał dziwny spokój, a po chwili ludzka rzeka znowu wypływała na bazar. ... Omijała tylko miejsce, gdzie **rozerwała się rakietą**.* 'Suddenly this monotony was broken by the cry: Rockets! – and then an explosion. **A cloud of dust and smoke rose**, shops were on fire... Wind chased away the smoke, strange calm prevailed, and in a moment a human river flowed into the bazaar. ... It stayed clear only of the place where the **rocket exploded**.' ... Wtedy **wyludniały się bazy** 'Then the bazaars grew empty'.
- 48) *Wszystkie rodziny przechodzą ciężkie chwile, gdy ta różnorodność daje o sobie znać. Wtedy **pojawiają się problemy**.* 'All families go through difficult moments. Then problems appear.'
- 49) *Nieprawdą jest, aby Lwów zajęli, bo choć Wilno, Mińsk i Wschodnią Galicję należy uważać za zagrożone, stoimy linią frontu dalej niż Niemcy przed pokojem brzeskim. Zapewne będziemy jeszcze musieli się cofać, niewątpliwie wojna to groźna, ale wreszcie **budzi się Polska** z apatii, niskiej pogoni za zyskiem i przyjemnościami.* 'It is not true that they have taken Lwów, although Wilno, Mińsk and Eastern Galicja may be considered threatened, we have positioned our front-line further than the Germans before the Brześć peace conference. We may have to withdraw still further, undoubtedly the war is dangerous, but at last **Poland wakes up** from apathy, low chase of gain and pleasure.'

In the last example, it is the general information rather than any single phrase that supplies the given context for our topic, but such an option also exists (see fn. 24).

There may arise questions whether it is indeed the Information Structure that conditions the distribution of the nominative phrases in the considered cases. For instance it has been noted that in Polish verbs with *się* do not appear at the end of a sentence, where *się* would be in the absolute final position. For instance Ozga (1976) describes the phonology of clitic attachment in Polish and she mentions *się* as behaving characteristically for this group of morphemes (p. 135): '(...) the shift [of the enclitic] is obligatory (or recommended), if the clitic is sentence-final and there are in the sentence pre-verbal elements.' Ozga bases these observations on Szober (1957).

Consequently, we may wonder if the clitic placement related factors may condition the final placement of subjects with *się* verbs, rather than internal role of these subjects. However, we observe the same (post verbal subjects) tendency with unaccusatives without *się*, so the clitic placement argument falls through and the similarity between *się* unaccusatives and those without *się* is again highlighted. Below we quote some examples of *się*-less unaccusatives with the post-verbal subjects in the topic function:

- 50) *Mniej bezrobotnych, jak to na wiosnę... Z najnowszych danych Wojewódzkiego Urzędu Pracy w Rzeszowie wynika, że na Podkarpaciu nieznacznie **zmałało bezrobocie**.* ‘Fewer unemployed, as usual in spring... The recent data of the Employment Office in Rzeszów have it that in Podkarpacie the **unemployment decreased** a bit.’
- 51) – *Chrześcijanie, którzy przez swe grzechy na nowo krzyżują Chrystusa w swoich duszach, ściągają na świat Twój gniew. – **Gaśnie wiara i stygnie miłość** wielu...*
– Christians, who through their sins anew crucify Christ in their souls, draw your wrath upon the Earth. – **faith dwindles** and **love runs cold**.’
- 52) *... którego pomieszczenia wyglądają tak, jakby gospodarze przed momentem wyszli na przechadzkę po parku. Na świeżo zmytej posadzce ganku widać mokre smugi, w piecu dopala się drewno, **stygnie kawa** w filizance.* ‘...whose rooms look as if the hosts a moment earlier went out for a walk in the park. On the freshly washed floor of the threshold you could see wet patches, in the oven wood is slowly burning out, **coffee grows cold** in a cup.’
- 53) *Przez lata wspomnienie o mojej rozmowie z papieżem przechowuję jako jeden z największych prywatnych obciachów. Mam zdjęcie zbiorowe z tamtej audyencji. Wszyscy uradowani, w środku **jaśniej papież** i tylko ja ponurak, Tristan, zerkam gdzieś w bok.* ‘For years the memory of my private talk with the Pope I have stored as one of my greatest private misadventures. I have a group picture from that audience. Everybody happy, in the middle the **Pope shines**, and only me gloomy, Tristan, looking away.’
- 54) *Śniegi uczyniły się modre, a później fioletowe. Nie było mrozu, ale noc zapowiadała się pogodna. Z murów zeszli znów ludzie, prócz straży, kruki i wrony odleciały od szubienicy ku lasom. Wreszcie **poczerniało niebo** i cisza nastąpiła zupełna. “Nie otworzą przed nocą bramy”.* ‘The snow grew blew, and then violet. There was no frost, but the night promised to be nice. From the walls people went down, apart from the sentry, ravens and crows flew from the scaffold towards the woods. At last **the sky grew black** and it got all quiet. “They will not open the gate before the night”.

The above data show once again that *się* verbs in Polish behave as unaccusatives, and not like reflexives with an external argument present. We have gathered data from the area of morpho-syntax, syntax and Information Structure that point this way. Consequently, the reflexive solution, attractive as it is, does not seem to be plausible for Polish.

However, if we found that reflexive forms, it is verbs with *się*, are the sole source of semantically unaccusative verbs in Polish, it would be still worthwhile to consider the reflexive derivation as a possibility. But on this count the system of Polish fails us as well.

4. Morphological diversification among unaccusatives in Polish

A more extensive research of the verbal system of Polish shows that unaccusative verbs may possess the clitic *się*, but they may also be underived with respect to the transitive phonological analogue, or show stem alternations. The examples below illustrate some such possibilities.²⁵ First let us quote a sample of phonologically nonalternating unaccusatives:²⁶ Wherever possible, we give examples taken from *NKJP*, to avoid passing our own judgements, possibly biased. Examples (a) show biargumental/polyargumental variants, (b)s – unaccusatives:²⁷

(55)

- a) ...w następstwie panowania systemu materialistycznego, który przez 50 lat **korodował** polską duszę ‘...as a result of the reign of the materialistic system, which for 50 years corroded the Polish soul’ (NKJP)
- b) ...po czym metal **korodował** i **kruszył się** ‘...after which metal corroded and broke into pieces’ (NKJP)

(56)

- a) Starszy pan **ustąpił** mi miejsca ‘An old gentleman gave me his seat’ (NKJP)
- b) Ból **ustąpił** ‘Pain receded’ (NKJP)

(57)

- a) Ksiądz Konrad wstał i gwałtownie **trzasnął** drzwiami ‘Father Conrad got up and rapidly slammed the door’ (NKJP)
- b) **Trzasnęły** szwy w przyciasnej marynarce ‘The seams in a tight jacket broke’ (NKJP)

(58)

- a) ...ani śladu po zdradzieckim **strzale snajpera** w czwartym dniu powstania, **który** o milimetry **chybił serce**. ‘...not a sign of a treacherous sniper’s shot..., which missed the heart by millimeters’ (NKJP)

²⁵ Certain changes in meaning (e.g. lexical specialization) can be observed between the forms in the examples a) and b), as we are dealing here with lexical items, not just syntactically different uses of the same item. For instance in (57 b) the act of giving way may or may not be accompanied by the sound associated with the action in (57 a).

²⁶ We do not put forward any claim here concerning the derivational direction in each particular case, i.e. whether it is from the causative to anticausative, or the opposite. This would require an additional study. However, the semantic correspondence is visible.

²⁷ The term ‘unaccusative’ here refers to the verbal semantics rendering change of state, undergoing something by the thematic participant in the event. We cannot resort to morphological marking for obvious reasons. Cetnarowska (2000: 83) offers an interesting test for unaccusativity, which works with some verbs: they derive characteristic adjectives in *-ły*: *umarły* ‘dead’, *zarosły* ‘overgrown’, *osłabły* ‘weakened’.

- b) ...*widziałeś kiedy, żeby **chybiło to, com** własną głowę zamyslił...* '... Have you ever seen to miss that, which I have thought out with my own head...' (NKJP)
- 59)
- a) *Jan **cyrkułował** **prasę** podziemną* 'John circulated the prohibited press'
- b) ***Prasa** podziemna **cyrkułowała*** 'Prohibited press circulated'²⁸
- 60)
- a) *Coraz to **doganiał** rajtara, a dogoniwszy gasił* 'Time and again he caught up with a soldier and having done that, killed him' (NKJP)
- b) *Standard życiowy w krajach skandynawskich będzie rósł, będzie **doganiał** standard obecnych krajów Unii* 'The life standard in Scandinavian countries will grow, it will catch up with the standard of the present members of the Union'
- 61)
- a) ***Doszedł** mnie głos* z korytarza 'A voice from the corridor has caught up with me' (NKJP)
- b) ***List nie doszedł**, bo właśnie zmieniła nazwisko* 'The letter has not arrived as she has just changed her name' (NKJP)
- 62)
- a) *Jan **groził** Piotrowi* 'John threatened Peter'
- b) ***Sytuacja groziła** katastrofą* 'The situation threatened with catastrophe'
- 63)
- a) *...by zawarli pokój **obiecywał** pieniądze* '...to obtain peace, he promised money'
- b) *...lecz stosunek **nie obiecywał** być trwałym* 'but the relationship did not promise stability' (NKJP)
- 64)
- a) *To nie irytacja, **tę hamował upał*** 'It is not irritation, this was hampered by heat' (NKJP)
- b) ***Motor hamował*** 'The motorcycle slowed down'
- 65)
- a) *...**dziwną słodycz**, którą **smakował** teraz jak brudny narkotyk* '... 'and strange sweetness that he tasted now like dirty drug' (NKJP)
- b) ***Rosół smakował łzami*** 'The broth tasted of tears' (NKJP)

Apart from the unaccusatives without reflexive morphology which correspond to polyargumental verbs, we also have intrinsic unaccusatives, like *umrzeć* 'die' or *utonąć* 'sink', which do not have polyargumental counterparts in any obvious way. These, however, are random examples and can be wavered away, although they also in their limited way show that reflexive theory of decausatives is not the right track of research.

²⁸ *Cyrkułować* 'circulate' is a loan word in Polish, but well adjusted into the system of the Polish language, so we feel it can be used as an example.

More importantly, in Polish there is a whole class of causative-decausative verbal pairs, which are formed with verbal allomorphy (or different stem forming suffixes),²⁹ and hence they do not show reflexive morphology, see e.g.: Szober (1957: 137), Laskowski (1984: 198), Grzegorzczkova (1979: 76), Wróbel (1984: 494–496, 502–504), Szymanek (2011: 180–182), such as *bieleć* ‘grow white’ – *bielić* ‘make white’, *czernieć* ‘grow black’ – *czernić* ‘make black’, *słabnąć* ‘grow weak’ – *osłabiać* ‘make weak’, *cichnąć* ‘grow silent’ – *uciszać* ‘make silent’, etc.

As these verbs, without reflexive morphology, have clearly decausative function and alike allow anaphoric *sam* ‘by itself’, *sam z siebie* ‘of itself’ (see section 3.1. above), we believe that reflexivization is not a logical explanation for decausatives since it would split the uniform semantically and syntactically class into two unrelated subgroups. Consider the alternating decausatives below:

- (66) *Plótno zbielało samo (z siebie)* ‘The linen has grown white by itself/of itself’ vs. *Jan wybielił płótno* ‘John has whitened the linen’ vs. *Słońce wybieliło płótno* ‘The sun has whitened the linen’
 (67) *Wiatr osłabł sam (z siebie)* ‘The wind has grown weaker by itself/of itself’ vs. *Jan osłabił przeciwnika* ‘John weakened the enemy’ vs. *Głód osłabił przeciwnika* ‘Hunger weakened the enemy’

The examples above show that there is no difference between reflexive unaccusatives and the non-derived ones as to the anaphoric control phenomenon, illustrated for reflexive decausatives in (14–18) above, so all unaccusatives behave alike and consequently there are no grounds to believe that reflexively marked decausatives are derived differently than the remaining unaccusatives. We would like to stress here the necessity of researching morphological phenomena against a more extensive morphological background in a given language, as, when seen in the context of the system of a given language they may, and very frequently do appear in a different light.

5. Limitations on decausative formation from the bases with obligatory agents

JFL (2011) do not insist on the reflexive derivation for decausatives only because of the reflexive morphological element in decausative verbs, or what they take to be the external arguments realized in them. Another fact that their analysis is to account for concerns the limitation on the derivation of decausatives if the transitive correspondent is an obligatorily agentive verb: then no argument identification between the causer and the undergoer is possible. Below we show that this limitation fails to work for Polish.

JFL (2011) would take the ungrammaticality of the decausative derivation in (68) below to speak in favour of their solution. We shall show that in the case of obliga-

²⁹ In Polish we have a whole group of verbs with signs of historically apophonic variation that distinguishes inchoatives and causatives, e.g. *pić* ‘drink’ – *poić* ‘make sb. drink’, *leżeć* ‘lie’ – *łożyć* ‘put down’, etc.

tory agent predicates, there is no significant distinction between decausatives and other unaccusatives. Indeed, the difference that can be noticed further undermines the reflexive solution.

On the face of it, in Polish obligatorily agentive verbs do not derive decausatives, as expected by JFL (2011):

- 68) *Jan zamordował Ewę z zimną krwią* 'John murdered Eve in cold blood' vs.
**Ewa się zamordowała* 'Eve murdered REFL./herself'

However, if we dig deeper into the system of Polish, we discover that, by and large, obligatorily agentive verbs in Polish do not have any unaccusatives that relate to them: either with *się* or without it, or formed by stem modification. Occasionally such corresponding forms exist, few and far between as they are, but in those cases we get precisely the derivatives which are expected not to derive, i.e. decausatives with the reflexive element. Consider the data below with obligatorily agentive verbs:

- 69)
 a) *Jan wyklinał matkę* 'John cursed his mother' vs. **Kłątwa wyklinała matkę* 'A curse fell on the mother'
 b) **Jan wyklinał się* 'John cursed.REFL' vs. *Jan wyklinał* (unergative use, not unaccusative) 'John cursed'
- 70)
 a) *Jan nagabywał Ewę* 'John chatted up Eve' vs. **Namowa nagabywała Ewę* 'Persuasion chatted up Eve'
 b) **Jan nagabywał się* 'John chatted up.REFL' vs. **Jan nagabywał* 'John chatted up'
- 71)
 a) *Ludzie zdybali złodzieja* 'People caught a thief' vs. **Pułapka zdybała złodzieja* 'A trap caught a thief'
 b) **Złodziej zdybał się* 'A thief caught.REFL' vs. **Złodziej zdybał* 'A thief caught'
- 72)
 a) *Jan wysiadał złodzieja* 'John chased away a thief' vs. **Zimno wysiadało złodzieja* 'The cold chased away a thief'
 b) **Złodziej wysiadał się* 'The thief chased away.REFL' vs. **Złodziej wysiadał* 'The thief chased away', etc.

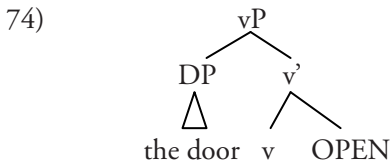
In these cases where the corresponding unaccusatives occur (as expected when we deal with lexical, irregular material), it is precisely the *się* verbs that are found:

- 73) *wtrącać* 'put in words', *wtrącać się* 'interfere', *nawracać* 'convert sb. to a denomination', *nawracać się* 'convert', *spowiadać* 'to hear the confession', *spowiadać się* 'to confess', *zaprzedać* 'to sell one's soul', *zaprzedać się* 'to sell oneself', *wykształcić* 'to educate', *wykształcić się* 'to educate oneself', etc.

The data presented so far show clearly that if we consider the morphology and systematic behavior of unaccusative verbs in Polish, i.e. incidental appearance of morphological marking (*się* being only one possible morpheme), the presence of the Genitive case, scope of negation phenomena, scrambling, Information Structure dependencies and the agentivity limitations on the decausative derivation, the reflexive source of decausatives for Polish is not a convincing option.

6. Concluding proposal

We are far from offering a full-fledged account of this body of data. However it seems to us that an analysis in the spirit of Alexiadou (2010) would not be amiss. Alexiadou (2010) (after Doron (2003) and Alexiadou, Agnostopoulou and Schäfer (2006)) argues for two possible source structures for (anti)causatives (decausatives). One such structure implies the presence of Voice Phrase and unrealized external argument (Kratzer 1996), the other does not admit of such structural complexity. In the first case morphological marking of anticausatives is present, signaling the absence of the external role, in the other case no marking appears. At this point our analysis is at odds with Alexiadou's (2010) suggestions, as some of our data are marked with morphological material for decausativization (reflexive marker, stem modifications) and some are not – as in intrinsic unaccusatives for instance. Alexiadou (2010) argues that both kinds of structure may appear in a single language, and this might seem to be a perfect solution for Polish: we might opt for the structure with Voice Phrase for morphologically marked subclasses and the one without it – for unmarked cases. This, however, we would like to avoid, having argued all along for the uniform behavior of all unaccusatives in Polish. Moreover, we have shown that no trace of the external role can be spotted in Polish constructions. Consequently, to propose a structure that allows us to introduce some element just to wipe out any trace of it later, seems costly to say the least. That is why we believe that Polish unaccusatives uniformly possess (both in morphologically marked and unmarked verbs) the structure that Alexiadou (2010:183) represents in the following way:



This structure, if we relate it with the structure of transitive verbs and claim a derivational relationship between the pairs of predicates, does not obey Koontz-Garboden's (2009: 80) *Monotonicity Hypothesis*.³⁰ One option is to disclaim the hy-

³⁰ The *Monotonicity Hypothesis* as presented in Koontz-Garboden (2009: 80) runs as follows: 'Word formation operations do not remove operators from lexical semantic representations'.

pothesis altogether. Still, this seems rash in view of so limited a body of data that we have considered. The option that we favor would take a different turn. Namely, we do not have to insist that synchronically there exists a morphological active derivation between the transitive and intransitive verbs. Actually many semantic and formal idiosyncrasies, which cannot be analysed here,³¹ suggest that it is rather a case of lexical entries being linked by redundancy relations.³²

What is, however, very interesting for us in Koontz-Garboden's (2009) account of parallel causative – decausative structures is his idea that decausatives do not lose the element of causation from their representation as an effect of derivation (in his analysis, reflexivization). Koontz-Garboden (2009) convincingly argues that the causative element, whatever its status, has to be present in decausative structures. If we want to defend Alexiadou's (2010: 183) structure for Polish decausatives, we have to come to terms with two facts: 1. Some causation elements can accompany decausative verbs³³ – here Koontz-Garboden's (2009) analysis comes to the rescue; 2. We have to account for the lack of decausatives corresponding to obligatorily agentive verbs.

Let us start with the first issue. If the presence of causation in various forms manifests itself with decausative verbs, it does not have to be necessarily the presence of the external argument that has something to do with the fact. Equally well it may be semantics of these verbs that does not **preclude** the phrases implying causation from modify the event with the given verb. Such an analysis is supported by the variety of causers³⁴ in decausative sentences and the variety of structures which represent the causers.³⁵

What remains to be accounted for is the inability of transitives with obligatory agents to derive decausatives: if we exclude the whole Voice Phrase introducing the external argument, then the incompatibility of the agent and the affected argument does not arise. Consequently, the pairs of obligatorily agentive transitives and decausatives should be a norm (as we have shown in (73), they occasionally appear). Nevertheless, if we assume that causational semantics is a part of lexical information present in the verbal root, while agentive causation is exclusively associated with the external role introduced by Voice Phrase,³⁶ then such incompatibility will result, albeit between

³¹ See e.g. Szymańska (1998), Malicka-Kleparska (2011, 2012) for more detailed analyses of semantic irregularities with some *się* structures in Polish.

³² In e.g. Jackendoff's (1975) sense.

³³ The point that causation in various forms accompanies decausatives has also been taken up by JFL (2011), who quote such examples as: (Ru) 'Dver' zakrylas' (*ot poryva vetra*) 'The door closed (due to wind) or (Po) 'Prawie zemdlal ze zdziwienia' 'He nearly fainted because of his astonishment'. Notice that this presence is not tantamount with postulating an external argument or an implicit agentive argument.

³⁴ See e.g. Alexiadou (2010: 179).

³⁵ See e.g. fn. 35 above, JFL (2011), and, especially, Koontz-Garboden (2009: 219–223) for such examples.

³⁶ See also Alexiadou (2010: 184).

individual lexical entries for transitives and intransitives. Thus redundancy rules will not be reinforced in such pairs and, in consequence, with time they will wilt.^{37, 38, 39}

If this is the case, we expect to find decausatives corresponding to **optionally** agentive verbs (e.g. 66–67 above) as the causing force with them may be unspecified or at least non-agentive, so compatible with the affected nature of the internal argument. Notice also that obligatorily agentive verbs form (functionally close to decausatives) impersonal constructions: *Oni zamordowali Ewę* ‘They murdered Eve’ vs. **Ewa zamordowała się* (decausative) vs. *Zamordowano Ewę* ‘Sb. murdered Eve’. The essential differences between the last two types of monoargumental structures are the non-lexical, syntactic source of the latter and the implied agent present in it.

The above remarks are but a sketch of an analysis and we feel there is much more to be found out as yet about Polish unaccusatives and decausatives in particular.

References

- ALEXIADOU Artemis (2010): On the morphosyntax of (anti)causative verbs. — [In:] Malka RAPPAPORT HOVAV, Edit DORON, Ivy SICHEL (eds.): *Lexical semantics, syntax, and event structure*; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 177–203.
- ALEXIADOU Artemis, ANAGNOSTOPOULOU Elena, SCHÄFER Florian (2006): The properties of anti-causatives crosslinguistically. — [In:] Mara FRASCARELLI (ed.): *Phases of Interpretation*; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 187–211.
- CETNAROWSKA Bożena (2002): Unaccusativity mismatches and unaccusativity diagnostics from derivational morphology. — [In:] Paul BOUCHER, Marc PLÉNAT (eds.): *Many morphologies*; Somerville, MA: Cascadia Press, 48–81.
- CETNAROWSKA Bożena (2000): The unergative /unaccusative split and the derivation of resultative adjectives in Polish. — [In:] Tracy HOLLOWAY KING, Irina A. SEKERINA (eds.): *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Philadelphia Meeting 1999*; Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications, 78–96.
- CHIERCHIA Gennaro (1989): *A semantics for unaccusatives and its syntactic consequences*. — Ms., Cornell University.
- CHIERCHIA Gennaro (2004): A semantics for unaccusatives and its syntactic consequences. — [In:] Artemis ALEXIADOU, Elena ANAGNOSTOPOULOU, Martin EVERAERT (eds.): *The unaccusativity puzzle: Studies on the syntax-lexicon Interface*; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 288–331.
- DORON Edit (2003): Agency and voice: the semantics of Semitic templates. — *Natural Language Semantics* 11 (1): 1–67.

³⁷ Perhaps that is why semantic differences appear in the case of decausative reflexives corresponding to obligatorily agentive verbs, see (73) above.

³⁸ An interesting account of similar problems, it is the impossibility of certain truly reflexive structures, which could be broadened to include obligatorily agentive verbs, has been offered in Szymańska and Śpiewak (1998). They postulate the existence of sentient oriented predicates (p. 124): ‘...if there exists a conceivable *reflexive* construal, i.e. that of ‘an Agent ([+sentient]), [+cause] acting upon him/herself’. The obligatory agent verbs would lack: ‘...the pragmatic appropriateness of specific NPs representing participants of particular events’. In other words it is pragmatically inconceivable to e.g. chatter up oneself.

³⁹ A version of this paper was presented at SLE Conference in Stockholm, 31st August 2012. In the discussion that issued there and then it was suggested to me that there may be a purely semantic constraint involved with obligatorily agentive verbs not to derive decausatives. Such an option is certainly open here.

- ERTESCHIK-SHIR Nomi (2007): *Information structure; The syntax-discourse interface*. — Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- GRZEGORCZYKOWA Renata, LASKOWSKI Roman, WRÓBEL Henryk (eds.) (1983): *Morfologia* [Morphology] — Warszawa: PWN.
- JABŁOŃSKA Patrycja (2007): *Radical decomposition and argument structure*. — Ph.D. University of Tromsø.
- JACKENDOFF Ray (1975): Morphological and semantic regularities in the lexicon. — *Language* 51: 639–71.
- JONES Charles, LEVINE, James S. (2010): Conditions on the formation of Middles in Russian. — *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 18 (2): 291–335.
- JUNGHANNS Uwe, FERMANN Dorothee, LENARTOVÁ Denisa (2011): Decausatives in a minimal theory of reflexive marking. — *A paper presented on the 9th of December 2011 at FDSL conference in Goettingen*.
- GRZEGORCZYKOWA Renata (1979): *Zarys słowotwórstwa polskiego*. — Warszawa: PWN.
- HORVATH Julia, SILONI Tal (2011): Anticausatives: Against reflexivization. — *Lingua* 121: 2176–2186.
- KALLULLI Dalina (2007): Rethinking the passive /anticausative distinction. — *Linguistic Inquiry* 38 (4): 770–780.
- KAUFMANN Ingrid (2007): Middle voice. — *Lingua* 117: 1677–1714.
- KIBORT Anna (2004): *Passive and passive like constructions in English and Polish*. — Ph.D., University of Cambridge.
- KOONTZ-GARBODEN Andrew (2009): Anticausativization. — *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 27: 77–138.
- KRATZER Angelika (1996): Severing the external argument from its verb. — [In:] Johan ROORYCK, Laurie ZARIG (eds.): *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*; Dordrecht: Kluwer, 109–137.
- LASKOWSKI Roman (1984): Predykatyw [Predicative]. — [In:] GRZEGORCZYKOWA, LASKOWSKI, WRÓBEL, 121–163.
- LEVIN Beth, RAPPAPORT HOVAV Malka (1995): *Unaccusativity. At the syntax-lexical semantics interface*. — Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- MALICKA-KLEPARSKA Anna (2011): High applicatives in Polish. — [In:] *Linguistic Inspirations: Edmund Gussmann in Memoriam*; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL (KUL University Press), 421–445.
- MALICKA-KLEPARSKA Anna (2012): Limitations on involuntary-state constructions in Polish: Between structure and semantics. — [In:] Maria BLOCH-TROJNAR, Anna BLOCH-ROZMEJ (eds.): *Modules and interfaces*; Lublin: KUL, 163–184.
- OZGA Janina (1976): Clitics in English and Polish. — *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 4: 127–140.
- PESERSKY David (1982): *Paths and categories*. — Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- POTSDAM Eric (2011): Against covert A-Movement in Russian unaccusatives. — *Linguistic Inquiry* 42 (2): 345–355.
- PRZEPIÓRKOWSKI Adam, BAŃDO Mirosław, GÓRSKI Rafał L., LEWANDOWSKA-TOMASZCZYK Barbara (eds.) (2012): *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego [National Corpus of the Polish Language]*. — Warszawa: PWN.
- PYLKÄNEN Liina (2008): *Introducing Arguments*. — *Linguistic Inquiry Monograph* 48; Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- TABAKOWSKA Elżbieta (2003): Those Notorious Polish Reflexive Pronouns: a Plea for Middle Voice. — *Glossos* 4: 1–18.
- REINHART Tanya, SILONI Tal (2005): The Lexicon-Syntax parameter: reflexivization and other arity operations. — *Linguistic Inquiry* 36 (3): 389–436.
- ROMANOVA Eugenia (2004): Superlexical vs. lexical prefixes. — [In:] Peter SVENONIUS (ed.): *Nordlyd* 32.2, *Special Issue on Slavic Prefixes*, 255–278.
- SIEWIERSKA Anna (1988): The passive in Slavic. — [In:] Masayoshi SHIBATANI (ed.): *Passive and voice: Typological studies in language* 16; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 243–289.
- SILIOUSSAR Natalia (2011): Russian and the EPP requirement in the Tense domain. — *Lingua* 121: 2048–2068.
- STALMASZCZYK Piotr (ed.) (1998) *Projections and mapping – studies in syntax*. — Lublin: Folium.
- SZOBER Stanisław (1957): *Gramatyka języka polskiego*. — Warszawa: PWN.

- SZYMANEK Bogdan (2010): *A panorama of Polish word-formation*. — Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
- SZYMAŃSKA Izabela (1998): Polish reflexiva tantum: a construction-based interpretation. — [In:] STELMASZCZYK, 99–117.
- SZYMAŃSKA Izabela, ŚPIEWAK Grzegorz (1998): Some remarks on the role of *się* in organising the argument structure of Polish verbal predicates. — [In:] STELMASZCZYK, 119–136.
- WRÓBEL Henryk (1984): Słowotwórstwo czasowników [Word-formation of verbs]. — [In:] GRZEGORCZYKOWA, ŁASKOWSKI, WRÓBEL, 467–511.